

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 141455

TOSEC 165

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 4139 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ALL CSCE
CAPITALS CAIRO LISBON LUXEMBOURG NICOSIA OSLO RABAT
SOFIA TUNIS USNMR SHAPE USCINCEUR USDOCOSOUTH USLO SACLANT
NORFOLK CINCLANT 29 JUNE.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4139

MOSCOW ALSO FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, EGEN

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - JUNE 24-28

1. SUMMARY. FINNS ISSUED INVITATION TO A THIRD STAGE IN
JULY, WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES INDICATING THEY FAVOR THIS
TIMING, AND US DEL SUGGESTING THAT SUCH TIMING IS NOT
REALISTIC OPTION IN VIEW OF WORK PROGRESS THUS FAR. WORK
ON THE PRINCIPLES WAS STALLED AS NEUTRALS TRIED TO WORK OUT
A " PACKAGE DEAL" TO RESOLVE BASKET III PREAMBLE PROBLEM.
WESTERN GROUP RESPONDED TO SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON NOTIFICATION
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OF MILITARY MENEUVERS, BUT DISCUSSION OF NOTIFICATION OF
MILITARY MOVEMENTS GOT NOWHERE AND TOOK ON A BITTER TONE.
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE COMPLETED FIRST
READING OF ITS TEXT, AND FURTHER INFORMAL ATTEMPTS WERE

MADE TO AGREE ON THIRD BASKET TEXTS COVERING ACCESS TO
PRINTED INFORMATION AND REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES. END
SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL SITUATION -- FINNISH REP ANNOUNCED TO COORDINATING
COMMITTEE THAT FINLAND IS PREPARED TO HOST STAGE III IN
HELSINKI IN JULY, AND EASTERN BLOC PREDICTABLY RESPONDED
THAT THIS WAS POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE. US REP, SUPPORTED
BY NORWAY, SAID US WOULD NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO A THIRD
STAGE TOWARD THE END OF JULY, BUT THAT, GIVEN CSCE PROGRESS
TO DATE, THIS DID NOT APPEAR TO BE A REALISTIC OPTION, THIS
OPENED DEBATE ON FURTHER WORK PROGRAM, WITH SWISS STUBBORNLY
OPPOSED TO CONTINUATION OF WORK AFTER JULY 12, WHEN PRESENT
SCHEDULE EXPIRES. SWISS AND MOST WESTERN DELEGATIONS PRE-
FER TO RECESS UNTIL SOME TIME IN SEPTEMBER, BUT SOVIETS AND
THEIR ALLIES CONTINUE TO INSIST ON WORKING WITHOUT INTER-
RUPTION UNTIL STATE II DRAFTING HAS BEEN COMPLETED. THIS
PROBLEM WILL BE EXAMINED MORE CLOSELY NEXT WEEK. MEANWHILE,
NEUTRAL GROUP WAS WORKING HARD TO FINE THE BASIS FOR A
"PACKAGE DEAL" PROVIDING FOR ACCEPTANCE OF RELATED
FINNISH-PROPOSED LANGUAGE FOR BASKETS I AND III. UNDER
FINNISH SOLUTION, BASKET III PREAMBLE WOULD MAKE A GENERAL
REFERENCE TO THE LIST OF PRINCIPLES AND PHRASEOLOGY WOULD
BE INCLUDED IN THE PRINCIPLES ON RESPECT FOR "LEGISLATIVE
AND REGULATORY SYSTEMS" OF OTHER STATES. DISAGREEMENT
ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THESE PROPOSALS HAS SLOWED DOWN AND
COMPLICATED WORK IN SEVERAL SUBCOMMITTEES, BUT WESTERN
RESISTENCE TO ANY KIND OF PACKAGE DEAL HAS BEEN ADAMANT
THUS FAR.

3. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- DRAFTING ON
NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE WAS STALLED OVER A PROCEDURAL
DISPUTE RELATING TO THE FINNISH-PROPOSED SENTENCE ON
RESPECT FOR "LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY SYSTEMS". SOVIETS,
WHILE NOT INSISTING ON IMMEDIATE DISCUSSION OF FINNISH
SENTENCE, REJECTED WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT DISCUSSION MOVE
ON (EVEN TEMPORARILY) TO HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE. SOVIETS
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MANAGED TO PUT OFF A DECISION ON THIS POINT BY PROLONGING
INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION ABOUT EARLIER PHRASES OF THE NON-
INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE. THIS ISSUE WILL PROBABLY BE
RESOLVED ONLY WHEN OUTCOME OF NEUTRAL PROPOSAL FOR A
BROADER "PACKAGE DEAL" IS CLEARER. SPECIAL WORKING BODY
ON IMPLEMENTATION POSTPONED DRAFTING OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL
PROHIBITING ENTRY OR STATIONING OF TROOPS WITHOUT HOST
COUNTRY AGREEMENT, AFTER SOVIETS HINTED THEY MIGHT
END THEIR TOTAL OPPOSITION TO THIS IDEA.

4. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE DEBATED PRIOR NOTI-
FICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND AGREED TO A
TEXT ON THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MILITARY MANEUVERS.

UK REP, SPEAKING FOR NATO, INDICATED FLEXIBILITY IN REDUCING TIME FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS FROM 60 DAYS TO SEVEN WEEKS

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IN RAISING THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION FROM 10,000 TO 12,000 TROOPS; IN WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT FEWER SPECIFICS IN THE CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION; AND IN WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS EXCEPTIONS TO THE CONCEPT OF GEOGRAPHIC APPLICATION OF THE CBM TO ALL OF EUROPE. IN DEBATE ON MOVEMENTS QUESTION, WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES REPEATED GENERAL THEME THAT THE STUDY OF MOVEMENTS HAS NOT PROVIDED AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR IMPLEMENTING THIS CBM, AND REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN A DEBATE ON MOVEMENTS PARAMETERS. NEUTRALS AND A NUMBER OF NATO DELEGATIONS PERSISTED IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DISCUSS PARAMETERS AND DEPLORED SOVIET REFUSAL TO DO SO. SWEDEN PROPOSED THAT PROVISIONS AGREED TO ON THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS SHOULD HAVE EQUAL APPLICATION TO MOVEMENTS WITH SOME SPECIFIC EXCEPTIONS. DESPITE NUMEROUS REQUESTS TO SWEDISH REP TO INDICATE WHAT THOSE EXCEPTIONS MIGHT BE, HE FAILED TO RESPOND. FINAL JUNE 28 DISCUSSION ON MOVEMENTS PARAMETERS BROUGHT CONTINUED SILENCE ON THE PART OF SOVIET BLOC UNTIL SOME WESTERN DELEGATIONS BEGAN TO DESCRIBE SITUATION IN TERMS OF A CRISIS, A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE AND A DISCUSSION IN A VACUUM. SOVIET BLOC RESPONDED IN FORCE BY SAYING SOME DELEGATIONS WERE TRYING TO FORCE A DISCUSSION UNDER PRESSURE. DISCUSSION TOOK ON A BITTER TONE WITH WARSAW PACT SEEMING TO GET THE BETTER OF THE ARGUMENT.

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5. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED WORK ON ITS PREAMBLE, REACHING AGREEMENT ON A PARAGRAPH CONCERNING THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GIVING EFFECT TO THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES REMAINED UNABLE TO REGISTER A TEXT ON IMPROVED BUSINESS CONTACTS BECAUSE OF CONTINUING CZECH INSISTENCE ON A REFERENCE TO LAWS AND REGULATIONS. SUBCOMMITTEE MOVED ON TO APPROVE TWO PARAGRAPHS ON MEASURES TO IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN FIRMS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION WAS UNABLE TO REGISTER ANY LANGUAGE, EVEN THOUGH ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION WERE OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE WORKED OUT A TEXT DEALING WITH UNISIST AND ECOSOC, BUT WAS UNABLE TO REGISTER IT BECAUSE OF A SWISS RESERVE. TEXT WILL BE DISCUSSED AGAIN LATER. THE GROUP DID REGISTER A PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH NOT PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED, AND THUS CONCLUDED ITS INITIAL READING OF THE DRAFT TEXTS BEFORE IT.

6. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED TO DISCUSS PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH REFERRING TO THE LIST OF PRINCIPLES GUIDING INTERSTATE RELATIONS, AS NEUTRALS TRIED

TO DEVELOP A PACKAGE DEAL INVOLVING LANGUAGE TO BE INSERTED IN THE PRINCIPLES. HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE RECEIVED A NEW NATO DRAFT TEXT ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION, WHICH CONTAINED A NUMBER OF COMPROMISES BUT, AT RG INSISTENCE, ADDED SOME NEW ITEMS. WHILE THE ADDITIONS WERE NOT UNREASONABLE, THE SOVIETS FELT THE WEST WAS RAISING THE ANTE AND REFUSED INITIALLY TO DISCUSS THEM. INFORMAL EFFORTS WERE RENEWED BY THE WEEKEND AND THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE TEXT WAS INTRODUCED INTO THE FORMAL SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING, WHERE IT MET NO OBJECTION. IN INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE, INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS CONTINUED EFFORTS TO WORK OUT THE REMAINING PROBLEMS IN TEXT ON ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION, WHILE FORMAL MEETINGS DISCUSSED THE UK PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE. SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION MADE ALMOST NO PROGRESS, AS DELEGATIONS TENDED TO AWAIT RESULTS OF EFFORTS BY NEUTRALS TO WORK OUT THE PACKAGE DEAL DESCRIBED ABOVE. IN CULTURE, SOVIET DELEGATE STRENUOUSLY OBJECTED TO UK REFERENCE TO RECENT APPEAL BY 17 EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN AUTHORS TO GOVERNMENTS

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REPRESENTED AT CSCE. SOVIET ACTION AROUSED WIDESPREAD CRITICISM AS IMPROPER EFFORT TO IMPOSE CENSORSHIP ON ANOTHER DELEGATION. AT WEEKEND, SOVIET DELEGATE BACKPEDDLED, EVEN OBSERVING THAT WORKS OF AUTHORS WHO SIGNED APPEAL ARE KNOWN AND UNDERSTOOD IN THE USSR.

7. COMMENT: WITH THE NATO AND MOSCOW SUMMITS CASTING LONG SHADOWS OVER THE CONFERENCE, DEBATE CENTERED ONCE AGAIN ON THE FUTURE CALENDAR OF CSCE. THE FINNISH INVITATION TO HELSINKI IN JULY PROVIDED THE OCCASION FOR THE SOVIET BLOCK TO PRESS THEIR VIEW THAT THE CONFERENCE IN NEARING COMPLETION OF ITS WORK AND SHOULD PUSH ON TO AN EARLY CONCLUSION. WHILE THE SOVIETS ARE NO LONGER PUSHING FOR A SPECIFIC STAGE III DATE IN JULY, THEY HAVE INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT THEY HAVE FIRM INSTRUCTIONS TO OPPOSE ANY RECESS, AND THEY STILL ARGUE THAT STAGE II CAN BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF JULY. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS CONSIDER THIS SCENARIO AN IMPOSSIBILITY, AND STRONGLY FAVOR A SUMMER RECESS.

8. THE GROWING ENTANGLEMENT OF THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE SEEMED TO MAKE AN EARLY CONCLUSION VIRTUALLY OUT OF THE QUESTION, AND THE WIDELY DIVERGENT OPINIONS ON THE NEUTRAL PROPOSAL FOR A PACKAGE DEAL TO SETTLE THE BASKET III PRE-AMBLE PROBLEM SUGGESTED THAT THIS COMPLEX ISSUE WOULD NOT BE EASILY RESOLVED. IN FACT, THE CONFERENCE SEEMED TO BE APPROACHING ANOTHER KEY TURNING POINT WHICH WOULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED WHEN POLITICAL PRESSURES BUILD UP. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS SITUATION CLEARLY BELONGED TO THE SOVIETS, WHOSE STUBBORN OPPOSITION TO ANY PROGRESS IN BASKET III HAS EMBITTERED WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS AND PROVOKED

ADAMANT RESISTENCE. THE SOVIETS HERE FINALLY APPEAR TO
REALIZE THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO DO SOMETHING DRAMATIC IF
THEY ARE TO REVERSE THE NEGATIVE WESTERN VIEW OF THE CON-
FERENCE AND MAKE POSSIBLE THE EARLY CONCLUSION THEY
ADVOCATE, BUT IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE HOW THEY COULD
MANAGE NBKPT SUCH MIRACULOUS PROGRESS. END COMMENT.
ABRAMS UNQUOTE SISCO

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